May 1999

# ABOLITIONIST

"Abolish the White Race — By Any Means Necessary" Volume 2 Number 3

50¢

# JOHN BROWN: 1859-1999

hen a prophet like John Brown appears, how must we of the world receive him? Must we follow out the drear, dread logic of surrounding facts, even if they crucify a clean and pure soul, simpy because consistent allegiance to our cherished, chosen ideal demands it? If we do, the shame will brand our latest history. Shall we hesitate and waver before his clear white logic, now helping, now fearing to help, now believing, now doubting? Yes, this we must do so long as the doubt and hesitation are genuine; but we must not lie. If we are human, we must thus hesitate until we know the right. How shall we know it? That is the riddle of the sphinx. We are but darkened groping souls, that know not light often because of its very blinding radiance. Only in time is truth revealed. Today at last we know: John Brown was right."

— W.E.B. Du Bois

Honor the legacy of John Brown:
ABOLISH THE WHITE RACE
IN THE 21st CENTURY



# CALL TO PRISONERS TO OBSERVE JOHN BROWN DAY

By Ronald Cornbread Owens, Boston

here comes a time when each person must take a stand for what they know to be righteous in and of itself and not because some other source defines it as "righteous." My call as an ex-con to all my still-confined comrades is that you Brothers and Sisters take a Stand.

On May 1, 1999, in upstate New York, there will be a gathering to honor the memory of JOHN BROWN and all that he stood for: Abolition of the many forms

of pernicious evils that accompany subjugation of one's fellow man.

As an ex-convict who spent twelve years imprisoned (within the maximum security prisons of both Florida and Massachusetts), I know what life in the Penal Purgatory Realm consists of! Pain accompanies the suffering but Hope tempered by Faith equals everything out.

John Brown felt coursing through his entire being the pain and suffering of others, and with his Hope tempered by his unflagging Faith, he stood up to the pernicious evils of his time. Today evil once again runs rampant and a call is being sent out to all those who live and think in the spirit of John Brown to stand tall individually and collectively.

Where possible, each prisoner receiving this CALL TO ACTION should observe John Brown Day in whatever fashion that their respective conditions of confinement allows, be it by fasting, gathering in group(s) or alone and sending out salutations to John Brown's spirit, or having a study group that speaks about John Brown, what he stood for in the past and how that is juxtaposed with contemporary (social) needs. This is not an exhaustive list

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# **COPWATCH: RECORDING**

# **Phoenix Program Hits the Streets**

by Joel Olson, Phoenix

fter a year and a half of planning, Phoenix Copwatch began regular patrols in February. What follows is a brief report on our activities.

On a typical patrol we carry a video camera, a still camera, tape recorders, and a copy of the Arizona state statutes. We also have a notetaker taking down notes of the situation and getting badge numbers and other information on the police. Here's a sample of some of our interventions:

- The cops had a car with five Chicanos pulled over on a dark, dead-end street. We came up to the scene, announced our presence and started videotaping. When I shouted from across the street, "We're from Copwatch. We're not cops or part of any law enforcement agency. We're ordinary citizens who observe and videotape the police to prevent against police brutality and harassment," the people in the car started clapping.
- Cops had four young Chicanos (at least three were 16) pulled over. They found a can of spraypaint in their car and were giving the kids a lecture about huffing paint when we got there. (We couldn't tell if the people had huffed anything but they didn't seem high at all.) They then proceeded to search their whole car and called their parents. They let them go after a lecture and a promise that they'd drive straight home.
- Patrolling on foot in downtown Tempe (a college town next to Phoenix), we arrived at a scene in which 6-8 cops (including two on horse, two on bikes, and

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New Abolitionists, Inc. P.O. Box 400603 Cambridge, MA 02140 several from cars) and 3-4 private security had an older Black man and a young Chicano in cuffs. According to eyewitnesses the cops picked the Black man out of a crowd and arrested him for an unknown reason. The Chicano man was apparently getting beat up by two guys across the street when the cops ran up on the scene and maced and arrested the guy while the attackers got away! We videotaped the scene for about an hour, surrounded by a crowd of passersby. At first the security guards told people to move along, but once they saw us taping they changed their tune and said it was okay for people to stand and watch as long as they didn't block foot traffic.

So far we haven't taken any arrests. This is good since an ex-cop we spoke with before beginning patrols told us, "You're going to jail, and if you give the cops any trouble you'll go to the hospital first." In-

stead, we have been treated with general indifference by the police (minus a few wisecracks here and there) while they have been painfully courteous toward the people they are detaining.

The most threatening reaction so far was after the cops stopped a minivan and made the youth inside walk home. After taping we walked to our car, hoping to catch up with the kids and give them a ride. The cops tried to follow us to our car. Every time we turned a corner, they were waiting for us. We had to circle two blocks before they finally gave up and we were able to get to our car unobserved.

For more information about Phoenix Copwatch or starting up a Copwatch program in your town, contact us at P.O. Box 1543, Phoenix, AZ 85001, (602) 241-6353. Also, check out the Police Abuse Center at www.policeabuse.com.

# THE NEW ABOLITIONIST

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Treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity.

# **NOT SO FAST**

# Freedom and the Black Revolution

# By the editorial board

he winter 1996 issue (#5) of our sister publication, Race Traitor, carried an editorial titled "Aux armes! Formez vos bataillons!" ("To arms! Form your battalions!" The text of the editorial can be found at http://www.postfun.com/racetraitor.) It said that the militia movement, like the Rodney King uprising, was "a rebellion against the massive, faceless, soul-destroying system that is sucking the life out of ordinary people in this country and around the world." The editorial criticized those on the "left" who sound like government officials in calling for greater repression of the militia move-

# The black community, beleaguered though it is, is the most advanced outpost of the society we seek to build.

ment and who actually collaborate with government agencies in carrying out that repression. The editors declared that they, as revolutionaries, agree with much of what the militias say about official society. More important, they believe that any movement that wants to reach that growing mass of people for whom "nothing less than a total change is worth fighting for" must draw a line between themselves and all of official society, including the "loyal opposition."

The editorial provoked a lot of comment. Among the responses was the following, from Louis Beam. Louis Beam is a publicist among what are sometimes called "far right" circles, including the Aryan Nations and some of the militia movements. He is best known for his article "Leaderless Resistance," which calls for a decentralized movement aimed at paralyzing official society through a series of violent attacks on its institutions. The idea is that local groups operating autonomously will be less vulnerable to government repression than an organization with a cen-

tral command.

Beam's letter follows:

Greetings. What a clear thinking essay! The lights are on wherever this essay was written.

Too bad you're left wingers. We could use you on the far, far, far right! Your best move would be to join the militias and thereby become part of a true "people's army" opposed to the totalitarian dictatorship of the "brave new world." I need not remind you that your enemy's enemy is your friend. You know this. So why do you not follow through? The militias could use some fresh revolutionary ideas. Many of them (like many you no doubt know in the left) are bound by mental chains to lifeless ideologies of the past.

The far right and the far left have much more in common than the right does with Newt and his boys or the left does with Morris Dees and his government-worshipping sycophants.

Tyrants rule, destroy, and enslave, while the left worries about political correctness and the right insists on worshipping the flag of their oppressor.

Enjoyed the essay and you may pass on my compliments to the author. One of your supporters pointed me to your site.

Death to the system!

Louis Beam

Our reply:

From our standpoint what separates Morris Dees and, say, David Duke is less important than what joins them, since they both operate politically within the system and limit their goals to what can be attained within it. So we say that "left" and "right" are largely meaningless labels.

But that doesn't mean that our enemy's enemy is our friend. Yes, we want to destroy the system, but we care about what comes afterwards—and so, if the truth be told, do you. Here is our vision: a world where work is play and play is life; where all life is human and all humanity divine;

where the state is the church and the church is the people (credits to G.B. Shaw). Are you with us on this, Louis? It wouldn't surprise us to learn that you are, so let's go on.

In order to achieve the world of our dreams, it is necessary to overthrow the profit system and eliminate social classes, abolish race and gender (not human diversity or sex), and do away with tribalism (not tribes). The starting point is a direct challenge to the privileges of the white skin, because those privileges, more than any other single factor, blind people to their real interests.

We are not asking you, or any other so-called white person, to "tolerate" the struggle of black people for equality. Tolerance is for liberals. We are asking you and every other person who is serious about revolution to embrace the black revolution, because historically it represents more than any other force a radical alternative to this society whose heaven is a shopping mall and whose hell is a concentration camp.

You want to know what the new society will look like? Take a close look at the most democratic institution in American society, the storefront Afro-American church, a voluntary association where the lady who empties bedpans at the county hospital during the week enjoys as much prestige and authority as a lawyer or a doctor—if she can bake a good sweet potato pie. The black community, under assault from without and within, beleaguered though it is, is the most advanced outpost of the society we seek to build.

Can you identify with that, Louis? If so, then we invite you to join our militia movement (in formation). But if, as we suspect, you are more attached to whiteness than you are to freedom, then please drop your claim to be an enemy of the state. Unless you can see the sufferings and strivings of humankind in a black skin, your revolution will only reproduce the evils of the present society on a higher level.

4 New Abolitionist

# JOHN BROWN RETRIED

by Andy Snyder

am doing an internship as a high school teacher in a Florida public school. My first unit was a retrial for John Brown. The students in all four periods of "American History" read a selection of primary sources from John Brown: Great Lives Observed.

Over the next several days we prepared for and conducted a trial of John Brown on the charges of murder, treason, and incitement of servile rebellion. Each jury member was given a three page pamphlet on "Jury Veto Power" to let them know that they could vote their conscience and need not enforce unjust laws.

The prosecution teams argued that the juries should disregard their personal feelings about slavery and find John Brown guilty on the basis that he committed the crimes. There were some funny moments—mostly pointing to the fact that for students today slavery is literally unimaginably evil. At one point the prosecution called Wise, the Governor of Virginia, as a witness, and he announced that he was an abolitionist as well, but thought John Brown used the wrong methods. Another prosecution team called ultra-pacifist William Lloyd Garrison to the stand to show that there were alternatives to violence. The notion that William Lloyd Garrison would testify for the state to help sentence a man to death for murder didn't strike any incongruity bells for them.

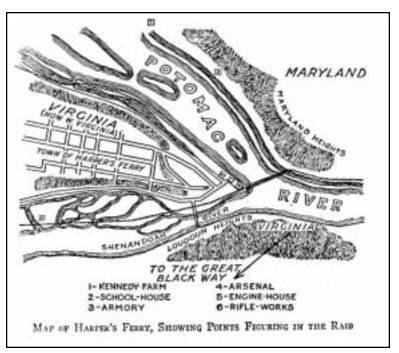
The defense teams pulled from speeches and essays by Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Thoreau, Brown, and Emerson. They penned speeches "by" Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass. They argued that not only was the violent raid justified by the horror of slavery, but also that given the historical conditions (particularly the Dred Scott decision and the fact that the South censored anti-slavery speech and books) violence was the only

hope for freeing the slaves. A highlight was one student's argument that the people killed at Harper's Ferry were not "innocent bystanders" because "if you are not trying to stop slavery you are guilty."

Unfortunately, this testi-

mony failed to convince most of the jurors. One of the classes acquitted Brown of all charges. But the other three hung him, although in one of those three the jurors found him guilty only of inciting rebellion

and were unhappy that he would be hung. Why did most jurors—most of whom had found John Brown moral on first blush—decide to find John Brown's actions worthy of capital punishment?



Map of Harper's Ferry. From W.E.B. Du Bois, John Brown.

# **Read About John Brown**

• Russell Banks, CLOUDSPLITTER (HarperCollins, available in paper)

A novel about John Brown, told through the eyes of his son, Owen Brown. Asked why he chose to write about Brown, Banks replied, "Because he is the one figure whom white Americans universally regard as mad and black Americans regard as a hero."

• W.E.B. Du Bois, JOHN BROWN (M.E. Sharpe, Inc.)

First published in 1909 and recently reprinted, still the best historical account.

• Bruce Olds, RAISING HOLY HELL (Penguin Books, paper)

Lurid but sympathetic. Narrative combined with correspondence, newspaper articles, folktales and oral reminiscences.

### For Kids:

• Gwen Everett, illustrated by Jacob Lawrence, JOHN BROWN: ONE MAN AGAINST SLAVERY (Rizzoli Bookstore: ISBN 0847817024) Cloudsplitter cover

The raid on Harper's Ferry, told Continued on next page

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# READIN', WRITIN' AND WHITENESS

# The Ingenuity of White Folk

by John Garvey, New York

he great thing about white folks today is their resourcefulness. There seems to be no method for the preservation of white privilege that is beyond their imagination. This resourcefulness is especially on display in educational settings.

Recently, The New York Times reported on events in two nominally integrated New York City community school districts. In the first, District 28 (covering the Forest Hills and Jamaica neighborhoods in Queens), the local elected school board has decided to spend five million dollars of federal magnet school funds to improve seven schools in the northern half of the district. One of those schools is PS 144. Its students are said to be 37 percent Asian, 19 percent Hispanic, 4 percent black and 40 percent white. But the school board claims that the magnet funds are needed to increase the white enrollment to 50 percent. According to the local superintendent, Neil Kreinick, the "only way you can succeed in New York City and most big cities" is to attract more white students from the non-public schools. Meanwhile, only two schools in Jamaica (the predominantly black half of the district) are scheduled to receive magnet school funds. So white folks have even figured out how to use money intended to promote school integration to support the maintenance of white privilege.

The other story is from District 10 in the Bronx, a district that includes relatively wealthy and white Riverdale and relatively poor and black Marble Hill. In the Riverdale end of the district, Middle School

through the eyes of Brown's daughter, Annie. Magnificent illustrations by the celebrated artist. For ages 8 and up.

-Beth Henson, Boston

141 has an enrollment of about 1,400 students, half from Riverdale and half from Marble Hill. A group of Riverdale parents has proposed the redesign of the school so that it would include a new "rigorous" high school. In order to do so, the zone for the middle school would have to be re-drawn, thereby excluding many of the Marble Hill children. What's perfect about this solution is that it's well-known that the public high schools in the Bronx, with the exception of the Bronx High School for Science (a school that admits students from all over the city on the basis of performance on an exam taken in 8th grade), constitute an educational "dead zone." If the plan for a redesigned school is adopted, then the children of Riverdale who don't do well enough on the exam will have an alternative to the educational misery which is the destiny of their age-mates down the road.

# Call to Prisoners

Continued from page 1

and prisoners should be respectfully creative in paying homage to John Brown. Prisoners should also take the initiative to contact their families and friends, informing them of the John Brown Day gathering and the need for their presence at John Brown's gravesite on May 1, 1999!

Any and all writings by prisoners conjunctive to this gathering and John Brown should be sent to the listed addresses [see page 2], with some to be read aloud over the course of the gathering.

As an ex-con I KNOW what waging war inside the dark dungeons of despair is all about. I personally feel that the knowledge that there have been people of such moral fortitude as John Brown, willing to die for what he believed in, allowed me not only to survive inside the correctional crypts but to thrive in such a way that, now free, I too can see the glory of struggle for the eradication of evil and give my all for such!

STAY STRONG OF SPIRITS KEEP THE FAITH, ALWAYS

THE NEW ABOLITIONIST

# WHITENESS INDEX

- Amount Black households earn for every dollar earned by white households: 62 cents
  - Median net worth per white family: \$45,740
  - Median net worth per Black family: \$4,418
- Median net financial assets (net worth minus home and car equity) per white family: \$7,000
  - Median net financial assets per Black family: \$0
  - Black-white gap in wealth accumulation, 1967: \$16,000
  - Black-white gap in wealth accumulation, 1988: \$72,000
  - Average mortgage rate for Black homeowners: 9.614%
  - Average mortgage rate for white homeowners: 9.07%
  - Amount extra that Black homeowners pay the banks: \$10.5 billion
- Price of being Black for this generation (totaling higher mortgage rates, less housing appreciation and denied mortgages): \$82 billion
  - Projected price of being Black for the next generation: \$93 billion
  - Projected advantage of being white for the next generation: \$93 billion

Sources: Journal of Blacks in Higher Education; Melvin Oliver and Thomas Shapiro, Black Wealth/White Wealth (1995). We invite readers to send The New Abolitionist stats (with sources) for the next Whiteness Index.

# Letters

# "EIGHT QUESTIONS" ANSWERS

n response to "Eight Questions for the Free Mumia Movement" (April 1999 New Abolitionist), I believe the massive organizing efforts around Mumia Abu-Jamal's case is very simply an awful indicator of the state of our democratic process.

By that I mean I don't think we should underestimate the organizers around the campaign to free Mumia or their commitment to freeing all political prisoners or to changing this fucked up system we call justice. To focus on Mumia's quasi-celebrity status (the videos, the CD's, posters, etc.) would be to buy into the propaganda put forth in the fantasy land of Walt Disney's 20/20, the crap that ABC and Sam Donaldson want us to believe about Mumia's supporters being leftist, bitter freaks who all want to date Mumia and want him and his dreads in a Guess ad.

While I believe you raise valid questions (questions I've asked myself during this effort), the reality is that I and others operate on Mumia's behalf with a very grim knowledge and an equally grim curiosity.

The knowledge is that Mumia's case is one of, if not the most, blatantly unjust cases in the American courts that we know about right now and a man could stand to die because of it.

The curiosity: what would it take to free someone from this system—innocent or guilty—based on the constitutional right to a fair trial before a jury of one's peers and an unbiased court—none of which Mumia received.

The case is complex and complicated, and quite often leftists fall into the trap of asking whether or not Mumia is "worth saving," most recently around the issue of whether or not Mumia's politics are pure

For a copy of "Eight Questions for the Free Mumia Movement," send \$1 to New Abolitionist, P.O. Box 1543, Phoenix, AZ 85001 or go to www.newabolitionist.org. enough to embrace the queer community, since John Africa's teachings promote heterosexuality as "natural." But even being at least a little queer myself (if that's possible), I don't think that's the issue at hand.

Unfortunately, Mumia's case, like the Scottsboro Boys and the Move 9, is a litmus test and will go down in history, one way or the other, as a testimony to the status of the American government and how much power the people actually have.

Unfortunately, if we are to disempower "this rotten ass system," as Move likes to call it, it will take masses of people to embarrass the fuck out of individual supreme courts and police departments and, my sense is, it will happen one case at a time, one prisoner at a time.

Thank you for bringing these questions to light and for resisting!

Fran J. Harris, Seattle

"What would happen to the Free Mumia Movement if evidence suddenly turned up that proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that Mumia is guilty of killing police officer Daniel Faulkner?" Since it is a broadbased movement with no central leadership, nobody can predict this. But I can tell you how I would react. If Mumia were demonstrably guilty it would not change the fact that he did not receive a fair trial and that he was convicted not on the basis of whatever indisputable evidence turned up twenty years later but because his political beliefs scared the jurors. If Mumia is guilty he is still a symbol of the racism and failure of our justice system. I would not abandon him.

Surprised?
Dan Tenenbaum,
Seattle Mumia Defense Committee

Thanks for your response, Dan. First, I am not surprised by your answer. There are certainly many committed people in the movement who would not abandon him. However, in the end, what's most impor-

tant, I am sure you would agree, is not what you as an individual would do under those circumstances but what direction the movement as a whole would take. Here's a couple of question for you: Should the movement, as a matter of both principle and political strategy, publicly state that it would demand Mumia's freedom, regardless of his innocence or "guilt"? Does it trouble you at all that a potentially large number of your movement comrades would discontinue support of Mumia if he were "proven" to be "guilty"?

Second, it is important to point out that Mumia is not a "symbol" of the failure of our so-called justice system but of its success. The U.S. justice system has nothing to do with justice and everything to do with social control. It is working exactly the way it was intended to.

Third, our justice system is not "racist," it is anti-Black. It is administered by people who would most likely bristle if you called them a "racist" but would not bat an eye if you called them "white."

Chris Niles

Why has Mumia become such a cause celebre? Whereas many political prisoners and prisoners of war are interned for waging "offensive" (armed) struggle against the fascist powers that be, Brother Mumia's actions were defensive. Therefore, many people, themselves not serious about struggle, find Brother Mumia less threatening; some of the people rallying around Brother Mumia have a vested interest in seeing that the equation of power in America remains intact! In addition, it's chic to be identified as a supporter of Brother Mumia because of the high-profile entertainers and other establishment people supporting Mumia for their own opportunist reasons. It is also in vogue to be seen at Mumia's demonstrations, which often have a sickening carnival atmosphere hovering around them.

What would happen to the Free

Mumia movement if evidence suddenly turned up that proved that Mumia is guilty? The vast majority of people who are now rallying around Brother Mumia would suddenly lose their vocal chords! You would no longer hear them calling on the state to give Mumia a new trial or sloganeering for Mumia's freedom. Mumia would be abandoned in captivity just like the rest of yesterday's urban guerrillas.

I have a question for you: What are you doing tangibly to support those "political prisoners and prisoners of war" who have been abandoned in captivity by supposed progressives and revolutionary-minded people?

Ojore N. Lutalo PO-861-59860 / Trenton, New Jersey M.C.U. 08625-0861

Ojore,

Thank you for your thoughts. We are always open to improving our efforts so if you have any specific or creative ideas of how an anti-white movement can best support men and women behind bars, send them to us and we will publish them.

Chris Niles

The reason why we have a "Free Mumia!" movement instead of an "abolish the prison system!" movement is probably because the movement hasn't reached that point yet. A healthy movement to abolish prisons is something that you would think of as taking place where the Left is not as fragmented and dysfunctional as it is here.

Re: "4. Is it possible to be consistently anti-white while supporting or being equivocal about the prison system?" Most anti-racist and anti-injustice activists I know do not consider themselves "anti-white" as that term is commonly understood. To most people, "anti-white" means openly hostile to anyone with fair skin and of European ancestry.

I doubt that you will ever become influential on the Left if your main activity consists of carping and hair-splitting and criticizing other Left movements, as you have done in your last two newsletters. This question represents an attempt to impose your ideology and terminology as the terms



Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal—by any means necessary.

of debate when the other side has not yet accepted them. How about working with movement people for a change instead of just hectoring them? It would really be more constructive, and it might give your New Abolitionist ideas a wider and more willing audience. This "holier-than-thou" stuff isn't taking. It's what you get done that counts

Tom Louie, Los Angeles

Tom,

Where is the "left" not fragmented and dysfunctional? Also, what exactly, in your opinion, is the left? In mine, the "left" is an intellectually and politically bankrupt construct that creates the illusion of political solidarity among radicals, self-proclaimed and otherwise, where none really exists. It is, therefore, a breeding ground for confused political discourses and petty demagoguery.

You are no doubt correct to point out that for most people, "anti-white" means openly hostile to anyone with fair skin and European ancestry. But that is an exact measure of how successful the mythic white race has been as an instrument of social control. Even "radicals" are afraid to be anti-white.

As for your accusation that our news-letter exudes a "holier-than-thou" attitude, you'll need to show us the evidence. It is standard leftist demagoguery to accuse anybody who is critical of the left of "hair splitting" and "carping." But then again, if you believe that pointing out the differences between an anti-white perspective and an anti-racist one is a waste of time, or that raising questions that make a lot of movement people uncomfortable is unnecessarily provocative, then we are, happily, guilty as charged.

Chris Niles

I'm the editor of the *Prison Legal News*. On your questions about the Mumia movement, I'll start by saying Mumia is a friend, comrade, and a PLN columnist.

As I see it, a big problem in the U.S. is

Continued on page 8

# What We Believe

he white race is a historically constructed social formation. It consists of all those who partake of the privileges of the white skin in this society. Its most wretched members share a status higher, in certain respects, than that of the most exalted persons excluded from it, in return for which they give their support to a system that degrades them.

The key to solving the social problems of our age is to abolish the white race—in other words, to abolish white supremacy. Until that task is accomplished, even partial reform will prove elusive, because white influence permeates every issue, domestic and foreign, in U.S. society.

The way to abolish the white race is to challenge, disrupt and eventually overturn the institutions and behavior patterns that reproduce the privileges of whiteness, including the schools, job and housing markets, and the criminal justice system. The abolitionists do not limit themselves to socially acceptable means of protest, but reject in advance no means of attaining their goal.

# Letters cont.

that no political prisoner has gained significant political support unless they claim to be innocent. This reflects the immaturity of Americans. Ten years ago, Provisional Irish Republican Army prisoner of war Paul Kelley wrote, "What about the guilty?" (Kelley was apart of a PIRA active service unit that blew up Scotland Yard's Old Bailey Courthouse and other government symbols in London in 1973. In 25 years of captivity he struggled for prisoner rights at all levels.) How many people do you know who will speak on behalf of the three Los Angeles POW's still languishing in prison for killing cops? Not many.

A lot of people are opposed to the death penalty and Mumia is a good symbol because he puts a human face on state murder. He's bright, articulate and photogenic.

Anyway, you make valid points but I think the problem is larger than just Mumia's supporters. For what it's worth, virtually no death penalty opponents give a shit or even make a connection with mass imprisonment, prison conditions, and death by incarceration. Their only concern is proactive state executions. Prison activists, by contrast, almost uniformly oppose the death penalty.

Paul Wright #930783 PO Box 777 / Monroe, WA 98272

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(Note address change)